

# MARYKNOLL HISTORY IN TANZANIA

## CHAPTER SEVEN

### POST-INDEPENDENCE AND THE CHURCH IN TANZANIA

#### INTRODUCTION:

The first volume of the Tanzania history covered Maryknoll's acceptance to take on the ecclesial territories of Musoma and Shinyanga in western Tanganyika, the establishment of thirty-one new parishes in these two dioceses – in addition to the previously existing eight parishes – and the setting up of many diocesan structures, such as a seminary, catechetical training school, indigenous Sisters' congregation, medical clinics, middle schools and one high school, and diocesan offices to promote advancements in education and other matters. From 1946 to 1963 Maryknoll sent 114 priests and Brothers to East Africa, primarily to Musoma and Shinyanga, although as of 1963 several had returned to the United States, two or three were in Nairobi, and two were in Dar es Salaam – and one had died as of August, 1963. In any year in the early 1960s a fair number would have been in the U.S. on home leave. In any event, it is a safe estimate to say that there were about 40 Maryknoll priests stationed in each of the two dioceses – and close to a half dozen Maryknoll Brothers in each diocese.

Much had been accomplished. Every parish had a church and rectory, usually made of cement blocks, and many of the parishes had a school, either primary or middle school, also usually made of cement blocks. Some parishes had medical clinics or dispensaries. There had also been moderate but appreciable growth in the number of Catholics in each diocese from 1950 to 1961: in Musoma from 10,500 to about 40,000 and in Shinyanga from 2,700 to around 20,000. Growth in the number of diocesan priests was slower, however; even as of 1970 there were only five diocesan priests in each diocese.

In 1963 Bishops John Rudin and Ed McGurkin, of Musoma and Shinyanga respectively, may have contemplated further increasing the number of parishes in their dioceses. However, the rapid decline in priesthood vocations in the U.S. beginning in 1963 negated any hopes they may have had in this area and from 1964 to 1990 there were only two new parishes started in Musoma and three in Shinyanga, of which one was more of a secondary school chaplaincy. Each diocese also saw one parish that had been opened prior to 1963 closed in the time period after 1963. But the dioceses had been well established and were flourishing.

However, even though the focus on establishment of the church in mission territories would lose much of its steam in the period we will now look at, major external events, in both the church and society, would stoke the energies of the Maryknoll missionaries in these two dioceses (and in other places, as we will see). These were: Tanzania's Independence in 1961 and its rapid progression towards the policies of an African form of Socialism and Self-Reliance by 1967; and the Second Vatican Council held in Rome from 1962 to 1965, especially its documents on liturgy, inter-faith relations, the Church as the people of God, and the role of the Church in the modern world. Augmenting these two major events, the new Maryknoll Regional Superior as of

September, 1962, Fr. Joe Glynn, began in 1963 to prod Maryknollers in Tanzania to seriously consider commitments in other dioceses – particularly in urban work in Dar es Salaam and Nairobi (Maryknoll work in Dar will be considered in a separate Chapter later in this volume; the work in Nairobi was covered in the previous volume on Kenya), and in several neighboring countries of eastern Africa.

This chapter, called Part Seven, will examine a number of events both inside and outside Tanzania that had an effect on Maryknoll's work in East Africa. The next two Chapters will take a closer look at both special apostolates and parish ministries in the two dioceses of Musoma and Shinyanga Diocese. We will see a similarity in the new types of parish ministry that took place in each diocese although traditional forms of parish ministry were not de-emphasized during the years 1961 to 1990. Rather they were complemented by diverse forms of ministry, depending on the particular gifts and skills of the missionaries in a specific parish. These included not only intense efforts at agricultural, vocational and socio-economic development, but also very important ecclesiastical innovations, such as parish councils, Small Christian Communities, purposeful and deliberate efforts at creating financially self-reliant parishes, intensified training of catechists at the parish and deanery level, team ministries within a parish or a cluster of parishes, and the opening in Musoma Diocese of three important institutions: Komuge Catechist Training Centre, Musoma Language School, and the Makoko Family Centre. In the 1970s there was another immeasurably transformative change, namely the inclusion of Lay Missioners directly in the missionary work of Maryknoll priests, Brothers and Sisters at both the parish and diocesan level.

However, as important as was Vatican II in influencing change in Maryknollers' work in western Tanzania, we will begin with a brief account of events at the national level in Tanzania in the years immediately after Independence, events which profoundly affected the thinking of President Julius Nyerere, motivating him to advocate sweeping changes in government and society, and which in turn stimulated church leaders in Tanzania to reflect deeply on their roles in promoting fundamental national goals.

#### TANZANIA'S PROGRESSION TO UJAMAA:

The word *Ujamaa* is a Swahili word in the abstract noun class, literally translated as Familyhood, but usually rendered as African Socialism. It was not a commonly used word prior to Nyerere's coining of it to describe the policies he formulated in the 1960s, although the word *jamaa* is a very common word, meaning family or relatives. The traditional African social support system is referred to as the 'extended family network,' referring to the right of family members facing great misfortune such as loss of harvest, severe illnesses, or some other calamity, to seek assistance from others related to them. The inviolable rule of reciprocity obliged those with means to help family members in great peril. However, this value was usually exercised only at the community level and would normally not extend to even the tribal level, except in certain cases when non-relatives of the same ethnic group migrated to a distant urban area, such as Dar es Salaam.

When he became Prime Minister in December, 1961, Julius Nyerere wanted to apply the value of the African extended family to the nation as a whole. Most of the following discussion will summarize the book, 'The Critical Phase in Tanzania 1945-

1968: Nyerere and the Emergence of a Socialist Strategy,' written by Cranford Pratt (Cambridge University Press, first published in 1976). Pratt said that as of 1959 Nyerere was motivated by three prime values: equality, democracy and socialism. These values "emerged from his own personal experience, his contemplation of the condition of his people, and his religious faith."

Although Nyerere's understanding of these three values evolved in the 1960s, they remained fundamentally unchanged. Equality in his mind primarily referred to prevention of an elite class emerging in Tanzania, which would not only seek material benefits beyond the means of the average citizen but the social power that came with wealth. Democracy did not eliminate the necessity for a one-party state, but meant that within the party there should be vigorous, free elections and that all citizens should be enabled to participate in those decisions that affected them. Socialism is a word misunderstood even in the 21<sup>st</sup> century. It primarily means the nationalization of the means of production, but for Nyerere it meant that wealth should be created first and foremost to alleviate basic human needs. The chief ills in Tanganyika in Nyerere's view were poverty, ignorance and disease, and he wanted to generate and use wealth to combat these ills. Another aspect of African Socialism referred to class divisions. Nyerere believed that there were no sharply differentiated economic classes in African societies and he wished to effect "a well-managed transition from a classless traditional society to a modern socialist society."

As Independence approached, the British strategy assumed that the independent Tanganyikan government would make few changes to the economic and social policies of the colonial government. In effect the British were making a double gamble: that Nyerere would continue to rely heavily upon British officers after independence and that he would be able to control the more assertive nationalists within the Tanganyika African National Union (TANU). However, even though Nyerere hoped for a continuation of British development assistance and recognized that the British could not be easily replaced in many of the positions in the civil service, he also had to acknowledge the clamor within TANU that Africans quickly be given civil service jobs. Furthermore, he did not want to trap Tanganyika into a position of dependency on Britain or any other country.

From 1959 to 1961 the British had expected an independent Tanganyika "to accept a close and dependent relationship with Britain," and thought that Nyerere had agreed to this. The political and economic strategy, in the assumptions of senior British officials in Tanganyika, had the following six broad features:

1. Tanganyika would be unable to staff its civil service with Tanganyikans for many years and therefore would have to retain many British officers, plus continue recruiting more expatriates.
2. Government policy would be under the direction of a political Cabinet, but policy preparation and implementation would be effected by the senior civil service, predominantly British officers. Thus, no major changes in government policy were expected.
3. Rural economic development would emphasize the progressive farmer, whose example would stimulate subsistence farmers' participation in the money economy.

4. Tanganyika would continue to encourage private foreign investment and private local investment in the manufacturing and commercial sectors of the economy.
5. So that the European and Asian communities in Tanganyika could contribute to development in the nation they desired assurances that they could live in peace, without fear, that their contributions to the economy would be welcome, and that their property would be protected.
6. TANU's role in Tanganyika would be twofold: first, the party would check any popular expressions of racist hostility towards the minority communities or towards Britain. Secondly, it would mobilize popular support for government development policies (as outlined above, numbers three to five).

Despite the fact that Tanganyika woefully lacked trained people for the over 3,000 positions requiring technical and professional qualifications, Nyerere concluded in January, 1962, that he could not accept this neo-colonial relationship. There were three reasons for this, not previously foreseen. First, the close association with Britain involved many more irritants than had been expected; second, this relationship intensified tension between top leadership and middle-rank TANU leaders; and third, it would be very difficult for TANU to mobilize mass support for policies devised and administered by expatriate officials.

One matter that TANU deeply resented was the handsome level of compensation that British officers expected when they would resign from civil service in Tanganyika and return to Britain. The price tag was immense and although Britain would pay close to half of it, the remaining amount, mainly in the form of a loan, would not be accompanied by the development aid that Nyerere expected from Britain. Pratt says, "Nyerere and his colleagues were bitterly disappointed."

In that first month after Independence Nyerere also came to the realization that the citizens of Tanganyika did not understand what independence really meant. The people reduced it to meaning only freedom (also *uhuru* in Swahili) but Nyerere began to emphasize the word responsibility (*madaraka* in Swahili). If Tanganyika was to be free of a dependent relationship on Britain then the responsibility of bringing development to the nation would rest on the hard work of the Tanganyikan people themselves.

As a result, Nyerere resigned as Prime Minister on January 24, 1962, in order to travel around the country as the Chairman of TANU and educate the people on the ramifications of responsibility and self-reliant development. Rashidi Kawawa was appointed Prime Minister. (Cf Volume Two of the Maryknoll History of Africa, Part Two, pages 133 to 140.) The people responded appreciatively to Nyerere's talks on self-reliance with hundreds of self-help projects. Kawawa chose a more radical Cabinet and made the tough decisions to move Tanganyika away from the dependency model of foreign policy. With the help of David Anderson of the Ford Foundation from the United States, an accelerated program of in-service training for civil service positions, mainly for recent secondary school graduates, succeeded in two years in transforming the civil service from one-quarter African in 1961 to over half in 1963. This alleviated one of the thorniest issues irritating TANU activists.

In October, 1962, elections were held for President, won easily by Nyerere, and on December 9, 1962, he was sworn in as President of the Republic of Tanganyika. However, his hopes of making the country independent and self-reliant were far from

over. The Five-Year Plan, 1964-1969, succeeded in its targets of expanding secondary school enrollment and construction of Dar es Salaam University, significantly increasing the number of Tanzanian Africans who could work in civil service jobs. Yet, even though the percentage of Tanzanians in middle and senior ranks of the civil service increased from 26% in 1961 to 80% in 1969, as of 1969 there were still over 1,500 non-Tanzanians, mainly British, in these positions, and continually each year there were many positions, mainly at the technical and professional levels, that went unfulfilled.

Furthermore, almost all the capital and development assistance provided to Tanzania in the years 1961 to 1965 came from Britain and other Western powers, aid which ostensibly would keep Tanzania reliably in the Western bloc – and perpetually in a dependent, neo-colonial relationship with the West. However, four momentous foreign policy crises from 1963 to 1966 disabused Nyerere of his “naïve pro-Western assumptions and expectations.” We will look at each one briefly.

1. The continuing support given by Western powers to the racist regimes in southern Africa:

Liberation movements from South Africa, Mozambique, and Rhodesia (now Zimbabwe), had started setting up camps in southern Tanganyika as early as the end of 1961. In 1963, Nyerere took several trips to Europe, the United States and Canada, appealing that they take concerted initiatives in rectifying the unjust rule of a White minority in these countries (as well as in Angola and Namibia, at that time called Southwest Africa). The Western countries did not respond. Even when the Smith regime declared the Unilateral Declaration of Independence (UDI) in Rhodesia in 1965, Britain took no action. Nyerere became completely disillusioned and stated that if the Western powers would not promote peaceful change then African countries could achieve it only through armed struggle, which he feared would be interpreted as communist subversion on the African continent.

2. The intrusion of the cold war with the union of Tanganyika and Zanzibar:

On December 9, 1963, Britain granted Independence to Zanzibar, led by the Arab-controlled Zanzibar Nationalist Party (ZNP). Five weeks later this government was overthrown by the Afro-Shirazi Party, led by Abeid Karume, the party supported by African citizens of Zanzibar, who made up over 80% of the population. This was immediately recognized by the Eastern bloc countries. China gave a huge interest-free loan; the Soviet Union bought substantial amounts of cloves and began to train the Zanzibari army.

In the early months of 1964 secret negotiations were held between Karume and Abdulla Kassim Hanga of Zanzibar and Oscar Kambona and Roland Brown, Tanganyika’s Attorney General, representing the Tanganyika mainland, talks which led to the surprise announcement in April of the union of the two territories into a new nation to be called the United Republic of Tanzania. This was ratified by Tanganyika’s National Assembly on April 24, 1964.

The purpose of the union was to out-manuever Abdulrahman Mohammed Babu, a radical leftist who wanted to put Zanzibar squarely in the Communist bloc and who opposed the union with Tanganyika. Nyerere feared that Zanzibar might otherwise

become a center of communist subversion aimed at the mainland. Nyerere was trying hard to maintain a non-aligned foreign policy, seeking foreign assistance from both blocs.

He had a problem, however, with West Germany. East Germany was the first to recognize Zanzibar after the Afro-Shirazi Party took power and wanted to continue diplomatic relations with Zanzibar, including maintaining a full embassy in Zanzibar. West Germany, in accordance with the Halstein Doctrine, refused to have diplomatic or any other type of relations with any country that gave recognition to East Germany. West Germany was a major source of technical and financial assistance for Tanzania and also was training its navy and air force, after the aborted coup attempt in January, 1964, by members of the Tanganyika army. (Disgruntled soldiers of the two army battalions engaged in a chaotic five-day coup over their low salaries and the demand that Tanganyikans replace British officers. Much to his chagrin Nyerere had to call in British paratroopers to quell the coup and restore order. Nyerere disbanded both battalions and requested assistance from West Germany to train a whole new military force.)

Negotiations went on for all of 1964, seeking some sort of compromise. The Zanzibari leaders insisted that East Germany have some form of official representation in either Zanzibar or Dar es Salaam. On February 19, 1965, Tanzania announced that East Germany would have an office of Consulate-General in Dar es Salaam, but this would not constitute official recognition. West Germany rejected this and immediately withdrew all its military training personnel, stating that within a year or two all development assistance personnel would also be withdrawn.

At the same time, an unskilled and totally unsophisticated Zanzibari intelligence officer misunderstood a telephone call between American diplomats in Zanzibar and Dar es Salaam, in which they used American slang (“bigger guns”) to discuss the need for high-level American participation in the anniversary celebrations of the first anniversary of the Zanzibar celebration. The Zanzibari officer thought that the United States was contemplating overthrowing Zanzibar. Tanzania expelled the two American officers, the U.S. withdrew its Ambassador from Tanzania, and Tanzania did likewise with its Ambassador in Washington.

Just before this, in November, 1964, forged documents appeared, purportedly from the United States embassy in Kinshasa (called Leopoldville at that time), offering assistance to Portugal for a group of mercenaries to overthrow Tanzania and kill Nyerere. Nyerere, vacationing at his home, was flummoxed by this news and did not know how to respond. The U.S. Ambassador presented detailed evidence showing the documents to be crude forgeries. Nyerere accepted this evidence but never gave a full apology for public anti-American statements that had been made by Kambona and Tanzanian newspapers.

Thus, by early 1965 Tanzania’s relations with the U.S., West Germany and Britain were in serious jeopardy.

### 3. American and Belgian intervention in the Congo:

Patrice Lumumba, the first Prime Minister of Congo, had been assassinated in January, 1961, by forces under the control of Moise Tshombe, the avaricious leader of Katanga Province, in southeastern Congo, the province endowed with more mineral resources and wealth than any other place on the African continent. It is alleged that Tshombe received covert assistance from Belgian intelligence services and the CIA in carrying out the assassination of Lumumba.

In 1964 Tshombe was appointed Prime Minister of Congo and he immediately assembled a mercenary army from South Africa, Rhodesia and Belgium. With logistical support, equipment, and highly trained mercenaries and pilots from the United States, Tshombe's army, the Congolese National Army (C.N.A.), soon besieged opposition forces in Kisangani (then called Stanleyville), formerly Lumumba's base of support. In desperation the rebel forces captured and held close to 2,000 expatriates, mainly Belgian, as human shields to stall an attack by the C.N.A.

Fearing the worst, Belgian paratroopers, with American and British assistance, executed a precision attack on the rebel forces and evacuated all but sixty expatriates, in only four days. The C.N.A. then invaded Kisangani and routed the remaining opposition forces.

This military operation by Belgium generated outrage throughout Africa, demonstrating clearly how easy it was for a western power to achieve a military objective in Africa – and, in this case, to save Europeans, but not Africans. African countries, especially Tanzania, believed that the purpose was to support Tshombe, in order to maintain access to Katanga's mineral riches by European and American corporations.

This was another incident that heightened Nyerere's mistrust of alignment with the West.

#### 4. The collapse of friendly relations with Britain:

Friendly relations between Nyerere and Britain were deteriorating throughout 1964 and 1965, due to Nyerere's humiliating need to seek British military help in quelling the army mutiny in January, 1964, and the persistent paternalistic and superior attitude of the British High Commissioner (Ambassador) to Tanzania. Nyerere's discontent finally reached the tipping point at the Commonwealth Conference of June, 1965, when he and other African leaders hoped that Britain would state that Rhodesia would not be given full independence prior to the majority population having the vote. African countries realized that independence could not be achieved immediately, but would have to be phased in, provided that it was overtly stated that final independence would be for all the people, not merely for the White minority.

When Britain's Prime Minister, Harold Wilson, refused to say this (he had already made a secret agreement with Ian Smith, the Rhodesian leader, that Britain would not demand majority rule in Rhodesia), Nyerere refused to sign the Commonwealth communiqué.

On November 11, 1965, the Rhodesia regime unilaterally declared its independence (UDI) from Britain and restricted suffrage only to the White minority population. Britain immediately went to the UN Security Council, advocating economic sanctions at Rhodesia, and later set up a naval blockade of Rhodesian goods passing through the port at Beira, Mozambique. Wilson believed that sanctions alone would bring Rhodesia to its knees, but he refused to use British troops in Rhodesia to undo the UDI, as the Rhodesian Whites were "kith and kin."

On December 15, 1965, Tanzania and a few other African nations broke diplomatic relations with Britain. Britain immediately froze a 7.5 million pound development loan to Tanzania. In response Tanzania restructured its pension obligations for retired British civil servants to only those years they served in Tanzania following

July 1, 1961. By 1968 Britain had made the decision to eliminate any further financial assistance to Tanzania.

Pratt summarized the results of these affairs as follows:

(Tanzania's) loss of innocence created an urgent need that Tanzania's foreign policy be redefined to take full account of the crises of the past two years and that her development strategy be brought into a realistic and close rapport with that policy.

As 1966 came to a close, Nyerere had concluded that Tanzania's foreign policy had to be one of "principled non-alignment," even to rejecting some offers of foreign aid from Western powers. At the same time he did not support the Marxist analyses and solutions being skillfully crafted by a group at Dar es Salaam University. Nyerere stated that "we have no desire to be and no intention of being 'anti-West' in our foreign policies." In fact, eastern bloc countries did not make up the loss of aid from Britain and Germany, with the exception of Chinese aid for liberation movements, a few development projects, and the 1,858 kilometre railroad from Dar es Salaam to Lusaka, Zambia, called the Tazara Railway. But most aid in the 1960s and 1970s continued to come from the West, such as Sweden, Canada, and the World Bank. The United States continued also to provide substantial amounts of aid.

Having severed the links of a dependency relationship with Britain, diversified its sources of foreign aid, and greatly increased local sources of government financing, Nyerere in January, 1967, "came to feel that there needed to be a major and radical redefinition of Tanzania's development objectives and of her strategy to pursue these objectives."

Although the foreign policy crises had diverted Cabinet attention away from development strategies, in fact Tanzania's economy had grown by an average of over 5% per year in the early 1960s, some restructuring of productive capacities had enabled local manufacturers to replace previously imported goods, and peasant farmers had made tremendous advances in agricultural production. Nyerere felt in 1967 that the country could build on these advances.

At the same time, though, he perceived that there were growing oligarchic and authoritarian tendencies within circles of both government and TANU. Both the labor and cooperative movements had been centralized within the government, steps which proved to be counter-productive, and there was confusion over authority between District Councils and TANU at the local level. However, one innovation had enabled greater democratic participation in national politics, the 1965 Constitution, which made TANU the sole legal political party in Tanzania but also promoted full democratic participation in the electoral process. The election of October, 1965, resulted in 86 new Members being elected to the National Assembly out of a total of 107, including the defeat of eight Ministers or Assistant Ministers.

Despite advances in political participation, the vast majority of Tanzanian citizens were not benefitting economically from Independence. Rural farmers had increased production of cash crops but the prices for coffee, cotton, and tea had dropped between 1961 and 1967. Furthermore, cooperative marketing boards imposed high taxes on the

peasants' crops, resulting in lower incomes in 1967 than at the beginning of the decade. Conversely, those working in the modern sector (including sisal plantations) had benefitted from significant wage increases accepted by the government beginning in 1962. Wages were 80% higher on average in 1966 as compared to 1960. Civil service salaries were not raised but in the 1960s several thousand Tanzanian Africans replaced expatriates in these posts and gained good salaries relative to rural farmers. As a result, a noticeable economic divide was growing between rural and urban households. Pratt wrote, "By 1967 there was real class stratification within Tanzanian society....(however) the African bureaucracy and the political leaders had not become a narrowly selfish oligarchy....and were not primarily concerned with the advancement of narrow class interests." In any event, urban and civil service salaries were high only in comparison to rural dwellers, but not compared to salaries in other African countries. The problem was that independent Tanzania had inherited a colonial salary structure that threatened to derail Nyerere's hopes for an egalitarian society.

Two other matters upset Nyerere, the first being the protest by the students of Dar es Salaam University in October, 1966, against mandatory two-year, unpaid service in the National Youth Service after graduation from the university. At a confrontation with over 400 students at State House in Dar on October 26, 1966, Nyerere expelled all those at the protest, re-admitting them only after five months. A second issue was his realization that some senior civil servants were investing their money in private enterprises, such as rental property bringing in high income, or performing part-time services, for pay, at private companies.

Thus, in January, 1967, Nyerere's two primary concerns were to foster economic development without engendering dependency relations with foreign powers (whether East or West) and to stem the potential rise of an elite class that would seek its own interests rather than the common good.

#### Arusha Declaration:

From January 26 to 29, 1967, Nyerere met with the TANU's National Executive Committee (NEC) in the city of Arusha. At the end of this meeting he issued the famous document that has become known as the "Arusha Declaration." This document is actually a relatively short statement and deals with three topics: self-reliance, a code of economic conduct for members of TANU and the government, and socialism.

Subsequent to the issuance of the Declaration, in popular perception, especially of those who did not read the document, and as a result of policies enacted by the government, most people believed it was about the socialist transformation of all means of production in the country. This was not true – at least not in Nyerere's own mind. Most of the Arusha Declaration deals with the meaning and requirements of self-reliance, Nyerere's chief intention in releasing the document. He was also adamant about enforcing rules for those in government, primarily that they not become embroiled in capitalist endeavors to the detriment of their roles as public servants. For Nyerere, socialism still primarily meant directing national wealth to combating the evils of poverty, ignorance and disease. In the Declaration he said, "Socialism is a way of life, a belief in a particular system of living."

However, the Declaration also spoke of the means of production and that "the major means of production and exchange in the nation (be) controlled and owned by the

peasants through the machinery of their government and their co-operatives.” Nyerere listed these as: land; forests; minerals; water; oil and electricity; news media; communications; banks; insurance; import and export trade; wholesale trade; factories such as iron and steel, machine-tool, arms, motor-car, cement, fertilizer, textile, and parts-makers for other factories; and large plantations.

According to Pratt, Nyerere had no intention of nationalizing all these assets, certainly not in the short-term, except after a long, phased-in process of assuming government ownership of one component after another. But he ran into politics.

To achieve his main goal of eliminating capitalist tendencies in the ruling elite he had to acquiesce to their latching on to his statements on nationalization. The code of conduct restricting income-earning activities was extremely unpopular among Members of Parliament, Cabinet Ministers, and TANU leaders. However, they were very insistent that the government engage in an immediate and considerable policy of nationalization, in the belief that Tanzanian Africans had the managerial skills to oversee large enterprises (a belief that would shortly prove false). Thus, less than two weeks after the Declaration was issued, on February 6, 1967, Nyerere had to call a Cabinet meeting at which a substantial number of nationalizations were approved. In one week the following firms were nationalized: private banks, food processing companies, the National Insurance Corporation, eight foreign-owned export trading companies, and six large manufacturing companies.

Issa Shivji wrote that this nationalization was aimed at the Indian minority, which he called the Commercial Class. The manufacturing sector had been very profitable in the 1960s, growing at an annual rate of about twelve percent. Of manufacturing enterprises, 57% were owned by non-citizens and of the citizens who owned the other 43% almost all were Indian. African civil servants and politicians resented this non-African control of such an important sector of Tanzania’s economy and used the Arusha Declaration to rectify it. The nationalization of buildings in 1971 had a similar aim. By the end of 1971 \$127 million worth of assets had been nationalized.

The Arusha Declaration received widespread popular acceptance from the Tanzanian people, including a grudging acceptance from the high-salaried sectors of the civil service, whose salaries were frozen at 1961 levels (until 1974) and rights to invest their money in private enterprises terminated. In the following few years all schools were nationalized, land was nationalized, and in the 1970s Ujamaa (communal) villages were started in almost all rural parts of the country (more will be said about this later).

Swahili language: Another very important nation-binding policy had been instituted several years earlier and needs mention here, namely the directive in 1965 that Swahili be the language of education in all schools, primary and secondary, throughout the country (a very few private schools were allowed to retain English). Swahili became de facto the national language although both Swahili and English could be used in Parliament. This policy is considered by many the most effective tool at creating a strong sense of national unity among all 125 ethnic groups, leading to harmony and peace within the country despite the economic collapse of 1977 to 1985.

This decision had effects within religious circles as well. Prior to this, missionaries such as the Maryknollers in both Musoma and Shinyanga had consciously chosen to utilize tribal languages in liturgy and catechetical materials, in deliberate efforts to be

able to converse with all age groups and both genders in even the most remote rural areas, and in order to inculcate the faith within the indigenous communities they worked with. As we saw in the first volume on Maryknoll in Tanzania, much had been accomplished in the use of music, drama, prayer and other aspects of liturgy in the various local languages that Maryknollers spoke. Many of the priests had become accomplished in Sukuma, Luo, Kuria, Kikwaya and other languages, although others struggled with the admittedly difficult local languages. Swahili was an easier language, even if newly arrived Americans at the language school did not at first believe this.

There was no government directive to any religious denomination to drop local languages and use only Swahili in church liturgy, but very quickly in the 1960s many Catholic dioceses did so. The option for Swahili was almost a game-saver for Musoma Diocese, given its plethora of local languages spoken by a relatively few people. The Maryknoll Language School in Musoma offered courses in several local languages – mainly Sukuma, Luo, and Kuria, and Kisii for a group going to Kenya – up to 1970, but after this year the Africa Region decided that the initial language to be learned by all future Maryknollers to East Africa would be Swahili. However, Kuria and Luo continued to be used for many decades in parishes in Musoma Diocese, and even today Sukuma is used in parishes in the various dioceses of Sukumaland.

Self-reliance: In fact, the call to self-reliance was the issue of central importance in the mind of Nyerere. Having rejected any dependency on or domination by foreign powers, and despite the lack of a manufacturing base, Nyerere concluded that Tanzania could develop only by hard work, intelligent farming methods, and cooperative marketing networks by the citizens themselves. Knud-Erik Svendsen, Nyerere's Swedish economic advisor, explained:

Some people earn too high incomes, there are adverse trends in the prices of foreign trade etc., but there is only one real explanation of the existing poverty – too low production. Low income per capita is due to low production per man. It is the purpose of the policy of self-reliance to dispel any illusions in this connection.

Despite rocky relations with some Western powers, Tanzania did not close off trade with countries, whether East or West. However, Tanzania's exports were mainly of primary agricultural commodities, which consistently lost value in relation to the imports of oil and manufactured goods. Tanzania had few mineral resources, mainly modest amounts of gold and diamonds, and its own small manufacturing sector primarily supplied goods for domestic consumption. These structural impediments and other events, some beyond Tanzania's control, were the main factors that inhibited economic growth in the next two decades.

Self-reliance in the Church: Before moving on, it is worth stating here that the concept of self-reliance greatly influenced church thinking, at least in Tanzania, in the 1960s and 1970s. After having been at the Second Vatican Council for two years Bishop Edward McGurkin finally resumed writing his diaries from Shinyanga and in April, 1964,

he wrote a long quote from Julius Nyerere's booklet on African Socialism. The pertinent sections are:

Those of us who talk about the African way of life and take pride in maintaining the tradition of hospitality might do well to remember the Swahili saying: Mgeni siku mbili, siku ya tatu mpe jembe, or in English, "Treat him as a guest for two days, in the third day give him a hoe." In actual fact the guest was likely to ask for a hoe for he knew what was expected of him and would have been ashamed to remain idle any longer.

McGurkin was commenting on Tanzania's movement towards socialism and self-reliance, but he may have been thinking about self-reliance in the church. Four years later, in May, 1968, McGurkin wrote a long diary in which he reported on a diocesan meeting in Shinyanga, presided over by Fr. Jim Lenihan, on the meaning of self-reliance in parishes.

At a general meeting of priests, Brothers and Sisters at Sayusayu on May 29<sup>th</sup> (1968) the topic was local support. The urgent question was: when can the church here stand on its own feet.

Some say the church here made a false start by equating the Gospel message with things like medical service, education and a better standard of living. People learned to expect support from overseas rather than on providing for themselves.

Lenihan quoted from a book by Adrian Hastings, "Church and Mission in Modern Africa," which said it is gravely mistaken to think that the more money raised for the young church the better. If outside help becomes a substitute for self-help then it is ineffective.

Support of local priests is another part of the problem. Christians have to support their own priests. Poverty has been the cause of priests in some places leaving the priesthood.

Lenihan said, "It behooves us then to do all we can to awaken our Christian community and, with all patience and understanding, guide them until they themselves understand their obligation of supporting their own community, their own parish with all its needs."

Some practical steps have been taken. First, parish councils have been formed and given this specific responsibility. Second, many parishes have a Five-Year Plan, which envisages a gradual increase in local support and a proportionate decrease in aid from outside. The Government is also promoting a mentality of self-reliance.

The problem of local support is much deeper. It is a basic misunderstanding of what it truly means to be a Christian. We allowed our early converts to take Christian benevolence for granted, coming from an institutional Church. We should have made it clear what responsibilities are required. The mistake was letting them have a distorted image of the Church, as a big, strong, affluent, influential organization, providing services of education and medical care, and its members in positions of prestige, with a higher standard of living.

The problem we have in Africa, right now at least, is not non-practicing Catholics but non-contributing Catholics. It is a question of forming in our people a Christian mentality.

Many years later in an interview Lenihan commented that financial considerations played a major part in changed policies of the Mipa Catechist Training School, which he assisted in establishing. A two-year trained catechist was paid around \$175 to \$180 a month, by the parish, and if a parish had three or four catechists “this became a financial problem. So, that’s when they dropped the two-year course and started having short courses, about three to four months.” It was made clear that catechists taking the short course would not receive a salary from the parish, perhaps just a small stipend from the Sub-parish, usually called a Center, where they lived. We will see that Musoma Diocese had the same problem after the Komuge Catechist Training Centre had been in existence for four to six years.

In 1968 the Bukumbi Pastoral Institute, in those years directed by Maryknoll Father Frank Murray, had transitioned from a catechist training school into a research institute for the whole country of Tanzania. For a full year, from late 1968 to the end of 1969 it did research in parishes in each of the dioceses, asking a lengthy series of questions on fifteen topics, all translated into Kiswahili. This activity was called the Seminar Study Year (SSY) and was sponsored by the Tanzania Episcopal Conference. The data was compiled and in December, 1969, the results were published.

According to Murray, “There were two pieces of research that were fairly important. One was on economic development in the country. The other was on self-reliance of the Tanzanian Church, economically as well as otherwise. It would be a real Church, not simply a beachhead of the Church which could not support itself and develop itself. We then discussed these findings with the Bishops.”

It should also be noted here that in the course of 1969 the *Ius Commisionis*, i.e. the Vatican policy of allocating ecclesiastical territories to specific missionary institutes, such as Maryknoll or the White Fathers, to develop into full churches, was abrogated. From thenceforth each national church and almost all dioceses were defined as Local Churches, with the same rights and responsibilities as existed in the sending churches. Thus, the Dioceses of Musoma and Shinyanga were no longer Maryknoll Dioceses, but autonomous dioceses under a local Bishop – admittedly still a Maryknoll Bishop. However, beginning from this time it was realized that soon each diocese would have its own local Bishop, a Tanzanian.

The specific conclusions of the SSY on self-reliance were that the present situation was unsatisfactory. “In most dioceses local support is far less than it need be, considering what non-Catholic Christians give. Steps to address this include educating priests and laity on the importance of financial self-reliance, showing its theological basis, publishing parochial financial reports including of money received from abroad, and training of parochial lay treasurers.”

The findings were also taken out to dioceses, for diocesan meetings with the priests. The concept of self-reliance was further divided into two distinct aspects: a Self-Ministering and a Self-Financing Church. These two terms entered the ecclesial vocabulary for a number of Maryknoll missionaries in western Tanzania from 1970 on, as well as for some missionaries of other missionary groups. In the 1970s, when the words

Objectives, Goals and Targets became common parlance for all Maryknollers, the objective of Self-Reliance was an essential component of planning in each of the many spheres of parish ministry, training and socio-economic development.

The SSY issued other recommendations that were more radical, calling for a re-structuring of the church, a reduction in priests' lifestyle, perhaps the setting up of a village priesthood without the high qualifications required in seminaries, phased-in but fairly rapid reduction of outside assistance, and changes in seminary preparation, such as elimination of junior seminaries and recruiting secondary school graduates and mature men for major seminaries. The decentralization of parishes into clusters of small communities was also recommended for rural parishes (we will discuss this more when considering Small Christian Communities).

In 1970 President Nyerere called for something similar to this, asking that priests leave their rectories and live in ujamaa villages, eschew outside sources of income, such as Mass stipends, and practice a simple standard of living similar to the villagers and what Muslim religious leaders were doing. (This and the following few paragraphs are summarized from Fr. John Sivalon's Doctoral Thesis on the Evolution of the Church's Social Ministry from 1953 to 1985.) In fact it was not possible for priests to live in every village, because there were 7,000 ujamaa villages but only 2,000 priests. What Nyerere was really calling for was that priests live closer to the people with a vastly reduced material standard of living.

In 1971 a radical document was issued by TANU called "Mwongozo," or the TANU Guidelines for Leaders, which called for democracy in the workplace and in rural villages, and for leaders to cease being arrogant and oppressive. A number of strikes ensued, euphemistically called the "downing of tools," as strikes were illegal. In the Church the Baraza la Waumini (Council of the Faithful) also began calling for more democracy in the Church. At the same time, there were radical elements in the country and in the press calling religious leaders, particularly the Bishops, exploiters and parasites. Catholic Bishops became alarmed by these events and also by what they feared was a turn to radical Marxism at the University of Dar es Salaam.

In response to the strikes many workers were fired and by 1975 the Mwongozo document was largely forgotten. In 1973 the Bishops met with Nyerere regarding Church relations with Church employees and Nyerere said it could make whatever arrangements it wished with voluntary catechists.

In the next few years expatriate Marxist professors did not have their contracts renewed and many radical students were expelled from the university. More moderate voices in the governing group resumed control of government direction and by 1976 relations between the government and the Church's hierarchy had reverted to their previous amicability.

The hierarchy realized they needed Nyerere to maintain peace in the country and security for the institutional Church and Nyerere realized that he needed the Catholic Church to provide indispensable amounts of foreign assistance for development projects and food relief. From 1969 to 1979 the European Catholic funding agencies alone gave \$30 million to over 1,200 development projects in Tanzania. In addition, millions of dollars came from other Catholic Church sources. The Bishops key concern had been to maintain their privileged place in society and to avoid any radical re-structuring of the

Church. The Bishops made sure that Catholic laity knew that the Church was not a democracy.

The recommendations of the SSY regarding radical restructuring in order to shape a sustainably self-reliant Church were in effect shelved. According to John Baur's book, "2000 Years of Christianity in Africa," in 1974 eighty percent of diocesan finances in Africa came from Europe or North America. The SSY had foretold in 1969 that 2,000 diocesan Tanzanian priests could not maintain a European standard of living based on the minimal amount of income they could reasonably expect from a local church as poor as Tanzania's. The Church had two choices in the 1970s and 1980s: radically restructure the local priesthood or maintain large amounts of foreign assistance. The latter option was chosen, augmented by local priests' involvement in varied business ventures to ensure they would have a lifestyle similar to the professional classes.

In 1972 Frank Murray wrote a very critical report on the state of financial self-reliance in the Tanzanian Church, saying that money from overseas gave the impression that the Church was a rich, hierarchical, clerical Church, an exotic institution not part of the local situation. He gave several recommendations, such as thoroughly informing the local community of the true financial picture of the Church, giving them decision-making authority regarding finances, training priests not to follow a European model of Church, having all recurrent expenses come from local sources, and balancing parish budgets even to the extent of dropping some programs. He recommended a five-year strategy of phasing out overseas funding, including of food, supplies, and transport of the priests, and replacing this with increased local funding. However, few if any Maryknoll priests followed this final set of recommendations, especially as Tanzania's economy was beginning to dramatically spiral downward.

As has been referred to in the previous Volume on Tanzania, even by 2012 it has proven to be an almost intractable problem to expect a poor country like Tanzania to completely fund all the structures and institutional elements of a model of church brought in from Europe and America, which have per capita incomes some fifty times higher than Tanzania. This topic will be surfaced again when we come to the final chapter on current apostolates of Maryknoll in Tanzania.

## VATICAN COUNCIL II:

There were four sessions of Vatican II, each of two to three months duration in the fall months of the years 1962 to 1965. The Council concluded on December 8, 1965. Every Bishop from all over the world was expected to attend all the sessions and almost all did. The two Maryknoll Bishops from Tanzania, Ed McGurkin and John Rudin, attended all four sessions and reported back to the priests of their respective dioceses what had been discussed and promulgated. In addition, Fr. Del Robinson, as Secretary General of the Tanzania Episcopal Conference, attended the final three sessions. In his role as secretary, he sat in at many of the discussions leading up to the final articulation of the documents. Rudin said that Robinson proved invaluable to the Tanzanian Bishops in getting out printed minutes in English on a daily basis and in procuring writing materials that they needed.

In an interview some years later Rudin said that close to half of the Bishops from Tanzania were African and they were very apprehensive going to Rome for the Council, feeling they were lacking in sufficient knowledge and preparation for what would be

discussed. However, once in Rome everyone was treated in a friendly manner as equals, or “brothers” as Rudin said. This relaxed the Tanzanian Bishops. In the first year they stayed at a new modern hotel outside of Rome, which the African Bishops found difficult, since there were no shops or restaurants in the vicinity and no people walking the streets. Beginning in the second year they stayed nearer the Vatican at an older, slightly run-down hotel, but since there were many amenities nearby and many people out on the streets even at night, the Bishops felt more at home – more like Africa.

Rudin also said that the Council scheduled many background talks by experts in various fields, one series given in French and another in English. He and many of the Bishops found these extremely helpful in understanding the issues the Council was dealing with, the historical and social background calling for change, and the theology underlying the changes being promulgated.

Sixteen documents were issued by the Council, many of which touched directly on the work of Maryknoll in Tanzania, to say nothing of Maryknoll’s work around the world. It is not the purpose here to give a commentary on any of these documents. We will merely note some of the general actions that Maryknollers took in Musoma and Shinyanga in the immediate years following the Council, and when we look more closely at each of the parishes more detailed mention of specific actions that took place will be made.

Regarding liturgy, it was stated in the previous volume that Maryknollers had already begun making changes that anticipated what Vatican II called for, such as Mass and other sacraments in local languages, having the altar facing the people, and use of local melodies and other means of celebration in liturgies. Rudin said that at first older African Catholics and many African priests did not like the liturgical changes, since the old Latin Mass with Gregorian Chant was what had originally attracted them to the Catholic faith. As the years went on, however, subsequent generations of African Catholics were pleased to celebrate the liturgy in an African style. Likewise, the implementation of Vatican II changes was uneven in Maryknoll parishes, according to Rudin, depending on the level of ease or unease of the priest instituting change.

“Gaudium et Spes,” (GS) the document on the Church in the Modern World, had a profound effect on Maryknollers in Tanzania (and on people, Catholic and non-Catholic, all over the world). Prior to Vatican II the Church had developed a fortress or ghetto mentality, “the Church over and against the world, presenting itself as the way to salvation for those who would escape the world’s clutches.” (Dennis M. Doyle, “The Church Emerging from Vatican II,” published by Twenty-Third Publications, Mystic, CT; following quotes and commentary on GS are from this source.) “The openness of Vatican II represented a virtual about-face from a suspicious scrutiny of a world seen as hostile, to a sensitive reaching out to a world seen as bursting with potential.”

On one hand GS stated, “The modern world shows itself at once powerful and weak, capable of the noblest deeds or the foulest; before it lies the path to freedom or to slavery, to progress or retreat, to brotherhood or hatred.” But then GS goes on to praise human progress in the temporal realm: “Christians are convinced that the triumphs of the human race are a sign of God’s grace and the flowering of God’s own mysterious design.”

If human material progress is good, in what way do Christians participate in this, explicitly as Christians operating from an evangelical perspective? GS answers in the following fashion:

The gifts of the Spirit are diverse; while the Spirit calls some to give clear witness to the desire for a heavenly home and to keep that desire fresh among the human family, the Spirit summons others to dedicate themselves to the earthly service of human beings and to make ready the material of the celestial realm by this ministry of theirs. (GS, 38)

What GS called human progress came to be called by Maryknollers in Tanzania socio/economic development, which a number of Maryknoll priests thought had to complement the evangelizing and catechetical work being done in parishes. In fact, many Maryknollers had already started various development or educational projects in their parishes prior to the conclusion of the Council. The impetus for this type of work did not come from the church but was in response to Tanzania's Independence and Nyerere's call for self-reliant development. Some Maryknollers had even started projects in the 1950s prior to Independence, in response to the deplorable lack of material development in Tanzania. The Vatican II documents as well as two encyclicals of Pope John XXIII, "Mater et Magistra" and "Pacem in Terris," provided theological backing to the development work in the secular arena and this was affirmed even further with the document "Gaudium et Spes."

Two years after the Council's conclusion Pope Paul VI issued the encyclical "Populorum Progressio," i.e. On the Development of Peoples, calling on the developed nations to be in partnership with and support financially the poor nations that had recently obtained independence. After issuing the Arusha Declaration Julius Nyerere met with the Catholic Bishops and told them that if they had any objections he could refute them all merely by quoting Populorum Progressio. The Tanzanian Bishops, however, supported the Arusha Declaration, at least till 1970.

The Decree on Ecumenism had relevance to the situation in Tanzania, where Christian denominations had been rivals for many years in vying to set up schools and gain converts. When we look at Masonga we will see that relations between Catholics and Mennonites improved markedly in the 1960s. The personality of Pope John XXIII and his openness to the world changed Mennonite perceptions of the Catholic Church, which were further reinforced by Vatican Council documents.

The related Declaration on the Relationship to Non-Christian Religions (Nostra Aetate) would eventually have great relevance for the Church in Tanzania. The harmonious relations with Muslims of the 1950s became incrementally more acerbic as the decades passed, in part due to an issue internal to Tanzania, namely vast Christian superiority in education compared to Muslims and a corresponding dominance in jobs both in government and in the private sector, and in part due to a matter external to Tanzania, the conflict between Palestine and Israel which spread throughout the Middle East and to all Muslim peoples throughout the world. East Africa would be greatly affected by Muslim-Christian tension. Much will be said on this in the last chapter on Maryknoll's current history in Tanzania.

With regard to the Decree on the Laity and the Dogmatic Constitution on the Church, which defined the Church primarily as the People of God and declared that the laity share fully in the mission of the Church by virtue of Baptism, in a sense the Church in Tanzania was ahead of this. Catechists had a respected place in each parish, Catechist Training Centers had been started, the forerunners to parish councils were meeting with the priests beginning even prior to the 1950s, and other laity were being invited to use their skills and talents in the church, such as song leaders.

Parish Councils: Vatican Council II put a premiere value on the practice of collegiality within the church, between the Pope and Bishops, Bishops and priests within dioceses, and between priests and laity in parishes. The Dogmatic Constitution on the Church (*Lumen Gentium*) had identified the Church as the People of God, called for wider participation flowing from the ideal of collegiality, and mandated that parish councils be established. Later the new Code of Canon Law stipulated that every parish should also have a parish financial council. Membership would be made up of both men and women of the parish, chosen usually by means of parish-wide elections, although some could also be appointed by the pastor.

The reformers of Vatican II had intended that Bishops' Synods have deliberative power in consultation with the Pope but conservatives in the Curia obstructed this reform. Synods, and also parish councils, were defined as consultative, not deliberative. A pastor could choose to grant the council deliberative vote on a particular issue and many pastors did so. A later commentary on Canon Law stated that a pastor would be foolish to consistently reject the strongly held consensus opinions of his parish council.

As we noticed in the first Volume on Tanzania, Maryknollers were able to establish parish councils in the late 1960s by building on the existing institutions of Catholic Action in Musoma Diocese and the *Batongi* (elders) in Shinyanga Diocese. It became merely a matter of changing the name of the parish organization. The Maryknollers had already begun trying to ensure that the more qualified and educated people in the parish were chosen for the parish council and to ensure that participation on the council fairly represented all sections of the parish. Depending on the make-up of the parish, parish council representatives came from outstations, centers, or in urban parishes from Small Christian Communities, which were established in the 1970s.

The perennial questions regarding parish councils were ensuring quality membership on the council, further training of council members, and the extent to which the pastor would trust or accept decisions made by the parish council. Priests, in fact, held the money, most of which came from overseas, and the most important decisions that could be made by a parish council were with regard to money, either the expenditure or collection of money. In a diary in the late 1960s, Bishop McGurkin stated that parish councils were viewed as the most important means by which self-reliance would be fostered and church income increased.

At the national level in Tanzania the Bishops firmly rejected democratic participation in decision-making by the laity. The name of the Lay Council was changed from Baraza la Waumini (Council of the Faithful) to Baraza la Walei (Lay Council) and its purposes were changed to promotion of families and Small Christian Communities.

The Lay Council was also expected to urge Catholic laity to enter national politics and Catholic professionals to take an active role in the church.

A few years after conclusion of the Vatican Council Small Christian Communities were initiated, a radical structural change in the Church that spread all over Africa. When we look at Nyarombo we will examine what arguably was the first instance of Small Christian Communities in Africa and we will augment this with a long excursus on this facet of being Church, up to the present. SCCs became mainly prayer and scripture study groups that also engaged in compassionate outreach to neighbors in need. A few expatriate missionaries hoped SCCs would engage in serious social analysis but this did not happen, except in rare instances.

The question of approach to cultures was addressed in the documents “Gaudium et Spes” (GS) and on the Church’s Missionary Activity. Regarding culture GS stated:

(We advocate) increased exchanges between cultures, which should lead to a true and fruitful dialogue between groups and nations, (without) disturbing the life of communities, destroying the wisdom received from ancestors, and placing in danger the character of each people.

Related to inculturation was the theme of evangelization, as stated by the document of Missionary Activity:

The special end of this missionary activity is the evangelization and the implanting of the church among peoples or groups in which it has not yet taken root. All over the world indigenous particular churches ought to grow from the seed of the word of God, churches which would be adequately organized and would possess their own proper strength and maturity.

Lumen Gentium stated:

Since the kingdom of God is not of this world the church or people of God in establishing that kingdom takes nothing away from the temporal welfare of any people. On the contrary it fosters and takes to itself, insofar as they are good, the ability, riches and customs in which the genius of each people expresses itself.

Other less well-known documents, particularly the Decree on the Training of Priests, also had ramifications for the Dioceses of Musoma and Shinyanga. This document called for sound formation of priests, with particular attention to maintaining high standards in academic, spiritual and pastoral training. In his diary of November, 1966, Bishop McGurkin wrote of a meeting of the Bishops from all 23 dioceses of Tanzania in Dar es Salaam that month at which seminary training was the main item of the agenda. They resolved that Kipalapala in Tabora would be the only major seminary for theology in the country and that the seminaries in Moshi and Bukoba would be for philosophy. The purpose would be to make the faculties more effective by concentrating

on the specific level of the seminary. However, in the 1970s another national seminary was opened outside of Dar es Salaam.

McGurkin also reported that the rectors of all seminaries of five countries in East Africa (Tanzania, Kenya, Uganda, Zambia, and Malawi) would meet in Uganda in December, 1966, and in Tabora in January, 1967, to discuss a long list of questions flowing from the need to implement the directives for seminaries that came from Vatican II. President Nyerere came to the meeting in Dar es Salaam and was asked his opinion of the long list of questions regarding seminaries. He offered no answers but said all things can be solved. He further commented that Pope John XXIII had done National Service but that seminarians would not be called up for this, unless they left the seminary. The question of junior seminaries (i.e. high school seminaries) came up in 1970 but the African Bishops stubbornly insisted that these seminaries be retained.

#### MARYKNOLL GENERAL CHAPTER, AUGUST TO OCTOBER, 1966:

The documents of Vatican II likewise deeply influenced the Maryknoll General Chapter that met in September, 1966, less than a year after the conclusion of the Council. Fr. Del Robinson was one of the Chapter representatives chosen from Africa and at the Chapter he was elected secretary. In 1983 he gave a long, insightful interview about this Chapter, which he referred to as a watershed moment in Maryknoll history. He said it was “a time of volatility and confusion,” due to the recent close of the Council and many new ideas coming out, compounded by the sudden and rapid decline of vocations and the increasing rate of departures of Maryknollers from the priesthood. The other members at the Chapter had not had time to read or digest the Vatican II documents, which were just coming out, so Robinson was very helpful in this regard since he had sat in on Council deliberations in the final three sessions.

Thanks to good Chapter preparations and regular publication of a pre-Chapter bulletin (in marked contrast to all previous Chapters), members came to the Chapter aware of Society issues and in a critical mood regarding administration and leadership methods. One of the first things they demanded was a more democratic form of leadership in the Chapter and for the next General Council. The 1966 Chapter passed almost all resolutions as mandates and statutes that the new General Council had to implement, whereas the 1972 and 1978 Chapters passed the resolutions mainly as recommendations.

The members had also come to the realization that the Society’s administrative structures were out of date. The Society had grown immensely since the end of the Korean War and its bookkeeping methods were not adequate for a large organization with a multi-million dollar budget. People knowledgeable about organizational structures came to give input to the Chapter and Price Waterhouse Accountants were hired to do a thorough audit of Society finances. The original rosy picture of the Society’s financial position given by Fr. Tom Brack was revised by the end of the second month of the Chapter, when the consequences of a recession in the United States in 1966 were becoming clear.

In summarizing the primary goal of the Chapter, Robinson said:

We spent a lot of time on things like personal allowance, viatique, Mass stipends, frequency and financing of home leave that seem silly now. But these

were indicative of what was the larger, central problem, a reorganization of the whole financial structure of the Society from the bottom upward and the top down, on all levels of the Society, where there would be a kind of uniform financial plan for the whole Society. We needed accountability, a financial reporting system, budgeting on all levels, and categories to be able to pinpoint where the money was going, so it could be accountable and more faithfully administered.

It seemed to me – and I can't speak for other members of the General Council – that our efforts had to be directed to consolidating and strengthening the Society internally.

We felt that there were things we should be doing (in response to matters) external to the Society, but we deliberately did not get too actively involved in that because we saw all our resources should be to stabilize the Society: tighten it up, firm it up, and make it strong so it could take off again.

The 1966 Chapter, being lengthy – at least three months, in comparison to previous Chapters that lasted only one month – had a great deal of consensus in passing all its resolutions. Robinson said that “it became an educational process, with time to fully discuss and tweak all matters being discussed, which helped generate this unanimity.” According to Robinson, the exact opposite occurred at the 1972 Chapter when all resolutions produced votes split down the middle, proving that as of seven years after the end of Vatican Council II the Maryknoll Society was sharply divided within itself.

Although the first part of the 1966 Chapter devoted itself to internal Society matters, eventually the theology of mission surfaced to highest priority, facilitated greatly by faculty members at Maryknoll, such as Frs. Bill Frazier, Bill McCarthy, and others. New departments were established, such as the Office of Society Personnel, and the Mission Research and Planning Department. The Social Communications Department was given greater prominence and a new Director was chosen, Fr. Joe Michenfelder. Theologians were invited in to give input on the ideas of Vatican II and on mission theology. In the end the two most important papers of the Chapter (in Robinson's opinion) were issued, “The Nature and Role of Maryknoll as a Missionary Society,” and “Maryknoll's Mission Apostolate.”

The first document stated: “The Maryknoll Society is a communal response to the missionary vocation of the Church, a distinctly servant, professional, and contemporary response to the missionary activity, and is orientated to the future.”

Three inter-related insights have formed the theology of mission: the People of God, by which the communal nature of the Church is to be emphasized over its hierarchical and institutional aspects; the Church as sign and sacrament of salvation, whereby Christian witness is to take precedence over convert-making; and a new consciousness of the role of the Church vis-à-vis those who never will reach an explicit faith in Christ. With greater confidence in the real availability of salvation beyond the visible confines of the Church, missionary activity must be viewed in broader perspective.

The purpose of Maryknoll is “to establish the Church as sign or sacrament of salvation where the Church as sign is absent, and to assist the development of the Church

as sign where it is not yet endowed with its own maturity, or its restoration as a sign where it is in a condition of relative obscurity.”

Three kinds of missionary activity were highlighted, the first being signs of Christian witness and hope where suffering exist. A number of situations were cited crying out for a response, such as despair, poverty, urbanization, rural development, minority groups, university, and areas such as social communications and the arts. Collaboration with others and dialogue were mentioned as new activities for missionaries to engage in.

Secondly missionaries must practice verbal proclamation of the gospel, inviting others to join them in living as signs of salvation and exhibiting Christian witness in their local communities. The catechumenate must stress the ramifications of the Law of Love rather than rote learning of catechism questions and answers.

Third, Christian communities must be continually formed to truly be witnesses. Some recommendations in this arena were breaking down large communities into smaller ones with face-to-face relationships, having an ecumenical outlook, and cultivating a missionary responsibility. Formation of laity to assume responsible positions in church ministry should become a paramount element of mission work and priests should accept the consequences of lay expertise in certain areas. Priesthood must rid itself of the perks of clericalism and rather live simply to avoid an image of privilege. Missioners must be able to work with non-Christians and find ways to engage in interfaith dialogue. The ultimate criterion of a valid missionary enterprise is the active witness of love by a Christian community, rather than a list of sacramental statistics.

Research, planning and evaluation should be essential elements of the Maryknoll Society. Some missionaries will want to engage in specialized ministries and will need education and training for this. Other characteristics of mission apostolate were language fluency, cultural competency, on-going theological up-dating, and reading the signs of the times.

At Chapter's conclusion, according to Robinson, the members left with a mixture of optimism and apprehension, optimistic about mission and Maryknoll's role in this, but worried about the drop in vocations. However, despite signals as early as 1966 of Maryknoll's coming demographic crisis, it would be several decades before this became a critical issue for the Society.

Beginning in the late 1960s the Africa Region sponsored seminars to enable Maryknollers to understand what had come out of both the Vatican Council and the Maryknoll General Chapter. They discussed how the documents from both meetings applied to their apostolates in Musoma and Shinyanga and whether they needed to make changes in how they carried out missionary work. Matters such as Inculturation, Lay Leadership Training, forms of parish decentralization, parish councils, socio-economic development, on-going pastoral reflection, and mission planning were thoroughly discussed, as well as many other matters. In addition, the term 'Primary Evangelization' began to become articulated and discussed with greater urgency by Maryknollers, with regard to setting priorities for doing mission in East Africa.

#### UJAMAA VILLAGIZATION:

According to John Sivalon the villagization program was rolled out in three phases. The first phase was the exhortatory phase, in which a few model villages were

started, and lasted from about 1967 to 1969. The second phase from 1969 to 1973 was the inducement phase, in which preferential access to government resources was used to entice people to form and join villages. The number of villages rose to about 5,500 by 1973 but only two million people lived in them. In 1973 the third phase of massive and forced villagization began. By 1975 the number of villages had risen to 7,000 but the population had gone up to nine million, almost 100% of the rural population. Often villages were put at mission stations, which had schools, medical facilities, sources of water, and in many cases had good agricultural land in the vicinity.

The third phase included some very coercive methods, such as destroying people's houses and using security forces to force people to move into villages. Many Maryknollers interviewed for the history project stated that this was the aspect of villagization they found most disturbing.

Both in 1968 and 1970 the Catholic Bishops wrote Pastoral Letters supportive of villagization but by 1973 they had become very critical of government direction (for other reasons; Cf above). Catholic religious leaders took divergent views, according to John Sivalon. The first type took a "non-involved" response, choosing to focus on spiritual rather than material matters in their pastoral work. A second type was the "indirect/financial support" response. These officials sponsored socioeconomic development, sought outside aid, and administered and supervised projects. They agreed with Ujamaa in principle but thought it economically impractical. "Although opposed to or at least neutral towards ujamaa, they indirectly supported it through their socioeconomic projects."

A third type was the "initiation/supportive" response. They viewed Ujamaa as a Christian economic and political system, containing principles for building the Kingdom of God. One notable example of this type was Bishop Christopher Mwoleka of Rulenge Diocese (southwest of Lake Victoria). He joined a village and encouraged his Religious to commit to the villages, live in them, and share the villagers' lives, in order to communicate the villagers' values. However, most Religious of his Diocese resisted and in the end only eleven of them lived in a village at any point of time.

A Maryknoll priest also became a strong supporter of Ujamaa, Fr. Art Wille, who had first known Julius Nyerere in 1955 when he was starting Zanaki Parish and Nyerere taught him Kizanaki. They remained friends throughout their lives. Wille had started the Komuge Catechist Training Centre in 1966 (to be treated in more detail in the next Chapter on Musoma Diocese), and early on in the program he introduced agricultural and animal husbandry components to the curriculum. "They were all from rural areas and as financial support for catechists from Maryknoll stipends was being gradually eliminated, due to the new policies on financial self-reliance, I decided to help them and their wives understand better methods of farming, using fertilizers, proper spacing and so forth, and animal husbandry. While at the training centre they received \$20.00 a month plus extra for each child for their living expenses, but the garden we had produced most of the food we needed. We also brought in some crossbred cattle to show them how much milk can be produced by these cows."

When the villagization was started in 1973 Wille had become pastor of the parish and he decided to make the parish an ujamaa village, as he explained.

I had a trained catechist, Julius Mwita, who was very interested in the ujamaa ideal. So with him I decided to build an ujamaa village. We got a number of people who were interested in living the ujamaa philosophy to live together and to work together. This was the time when we had begun our irrigation project at Mugubiya and it was beginning to take root. People were beginning to move in near the mission to form a village.

Then what happened was compulsory villagization took place, which meant that everyone moved in. It was a real trauma for many people to uproot their homes and move in. I continued to work with the whole village, selecting the plots, helping to reduce the trauma. We had a tractor and trailer, which helped a great deal in getting the people to have a roof over their heads.

But the villagization actually destroyed our ujamaa community because the people were not interested in it. They would come to work because of pressure but they wouldn't do any work. So that was what really destroyed our ujamaa community there at Komuge.

Sivalon likewise commented that the communal farms were supposed to receive priority in ujamaa village production, but in fact the people concentrated on their private plots, which were unfortunately far from the village. In the late 1970s and 1980s most of the national agricultural production came from smallholder farms rather than from communal farms.

The government arranged in 1973 to have leading members of either the Party or the government go out to dioceses to give seminars on the implementation of villagization, in order to assuage fears that priests and other Religious had. For Maryknoll, Fr. Joe Glynn requested Wille to personally visit President Nyerere to request a good Catholic to give a seminar to all Maryknollers at the Maryknoll Language School. It was called a Seminar on Ujamaa Socialism, lasted for three days in early 1972 at the language school in Makoko, and was led by a Catholic who was a leading member of TANU in Dar es Salaam. This man had a very pleasant delivery and the Maryknollers willingly gave him a positive hearing.

Regarding the actual implementation of Ujamaa Villagization, Fr. John Eybel later commented on some of the concerns that Maryknollers had:

- Destruction of houses: people had been told several times that they had to move, but when they resisted moving their houses were torn down.
- Often there was no grass for roofing in the new place. They had to carry grass from the old house. Since it had been on the roofs of their houses for some years, the grass was very dirty and not suitable for putting on the new house.
- For Luo, the traditional house was round. In the ujamaa village, the house had to be rectangular.
- Whereas they had lived at a distance from the closest neighbor at their smallholder households, in the ujamaa village they would be living right beside new neighbors, whom they would not be able to choose. Many people feared potential conflict as a result.

- Living in the village, they would be far from their own personal plots. This was the biggest complaint.
- Peasant farmers lacked a monetary incentive to work on the communal farm. In the decades prior to 1973, subsistence farmers had been assimilated into the monetary economy by selling crops to either cooperatives or businessmen. They did not appreciate working for nothing on communal farms.

The TANU member explained many of the advantages that would accrue from living in villages:

- Access to services; each village was expected to have schools, health facilities, water, and agricultural extension services, etc. Mission stations were made ujamaa villages because they already had most if not all of these services.
- The communal farm could use modern technology, such as tractors, and economies of scale, and also utilize government research information.
- People could still have their own plot, albeit far from the village.
- Adult education would be enabled, including political education.
- National agricultural production would be increased.
- National government services could be paid for through this self-reliant form of development.
- The villages would make possible better use of cooperative marketing.
- Benefits from centralized planning; not all agreed that this was an improvement, arguing that market forces should determine the crops grown, and that peasant farmers should be able to make decisions on their own.
- In theory a Five-Year Plan can depend equally well on market incentives for private producers as on central government quotas divided up among all Districts and Wards (Divisions).

In 1971 the Tanzania Government issued the Musoma Declaration on Universal Primary Education (UPE). This was implemented in 1973 to accompany the villagization program. Each village was mandated to have a primary school, Standards One to Seven, and all children were mandated to attend school. The elimination of Standard Eight had taken place right after the Arusha Declaration in 1967, in order to ensure there would be an adequate number of teachers for all the schools. The policy of four years of secondary school followed by two years of high school as a necessary requirement of university enrollment was retained to the present.

### ECONOMIC COLLAPSE:

Beginning in 1970 there were a series of factors, external and internal, that impacted negatively on the Tanzanian economy:

- The loss of sisal as an export crop (nylon rope replaced rope made of natural fiber).
- The drop in price of Tanzania's export crops, mainly coffee, tea and sisal, with the exception of the boom year of 1978 when the prices of coffee and tea rose dramatically. An unusual severe frost in Brazil's coffee-growing region killed

- much of the coffee crop there, leading to a worldwide shortage and resultant price rise.
- Constant increases in the prices of imported machinery and food, negatively impacting Tanzania's terms of trade and foreign exchange balances.
  - Several bad droughts accompanied by serious food shortages, compelling use of scarce foreign exchange to import food. The 1973-74 famine corresponded to forced villagization, which contributed to the famine. In 1980-81 Tanzania had to buy 200,000 tons of imported maize to avert starvation.
  - The unwillingness of major Western powers to supply or increase development aid.
  - The sharp rise in the price of oil, especially between 1979 and 1981.
  - The loss of \$250 million when Tanzania's shares of assets in the East African Community (EAC) were frozen in Kenyan banks, when the EAC was abrogated in 1977.
  - The war in 1978-79 to remove Idi Amin from Uganda, which cost Tanzania an estimated half billion dollars.
  - Tanzania's dwindling foreign reserves. In June, 1981, its reserves were only \$1.2 million, enough for only two days' worth of imports. In the next few years the situation got even worse.

Sivalon reported that in November, 1981, the Governor of the Central Bank, Charles Nyirabu, cited three internal problems that added to the economic dilemma.

- Agricultural stagnation or decline, caused by the maladministration of agricultural parastatals, resulting in lower net incomes for farmers.
- Insufficient restraints in imports after the coffee boom of 1978, resulting in import of many goods that did not help the manufacturing sector.
- Inadequate financial control over government expenditure and the parastatals sector. Wages were more than doubled from 1969 to 1974, causing parastatals to operate at a deficit and necessitating borrowing. Government responded by increasing indirect taxes on agricultural production.

Tanzania's external debt also grew steadily in the 1970s and 1980s, reaching the unsustainable level of about 170% of Gross National Income (GNI) in the mid-1980s. This was due not to the amount of aid, which came chiefly from bilateral or multilateral donors that gave loans at concessionary rates, but to a sizeable drop in the quantity and value of Tanzania's exports, both in absolute terms and relative to borrowing. Since about 1990 economic growth in Tanzania has reduced the percentage of external debt to GNI to about 40%, an acceptably sustainable level. However, in 2013 and 2014 Tanzania engaged in a huge increase in external borrowing, which can potentially raise its debt level if the country does not have a corresponding increase in exports and GNI.

Beginning in 1977 Tanzania began a rapid decline to economic collapse. It became known in Swahili as the period of *hamna* (there is nothing), at time when there were almost no consumer goods available in the country (for example, in 1984 a large government-owned shoe store in Dar es Salaam, with capacity for several thousand pairs of shoes, had only about ten pairs of shoes for sale). In February, 1977, TANU merged with Zanzibar's Afro-Shirazi Party to create the new Chama cha Mapinduzi (CCM), in

English the Revolutionary Party. This and a number of other acronyms began to be used in sarcastic fashion by the people; for example, CCM was re-phrased as *Chukua Chako Mapema*, Swahili for ‘Take yours quickly.’

Sivalon wrote that in 1978 the caloric intake of the average rural Tanzanian was only 89% of daily requirement. After that farm income declined by 21% to 36.5%, making things drastically worse. Likewise urban wages declined in real terms. People turned to the parallel economy; a kilo of sugar was priced at the official rate at Shs. 18/- but was sold only at Shs. 180/-. Thus, the official price was pegged at only ten percent of an item’s actual value.

Tanzanians adopted various survival methods, such as work in the informal sector, smuggling, bribery and corruption, petty theft, and outright major crime. Sivalon commented, “These were symptoms of social and political demoralization.”

Maryknoll missionaries in Musoma and Shinyanga were not spared. Some who worked in rural missions reported that in the late 1970s and 1980s they could spend up to half of their time each week just in getting provisions for survival. Their predicament was spared by two forms of internally organized service, the first being shipment of containers from the United States carrying building supplies, automotive parts, items for church use, food (canned and dry foods) and household supplies. A huge storeroom at the Language School held the goods and payment was made directly from missionaries’ personal, viatique or subsidy accounts – in U.S. dollars – with no need to exchange cash.

A second form of provision was supplied by Fr. Dave Jones, the Director of the Family Life Center in Musoma (Makoko), who had special permission from the Tanzania government to cross the border into Kenya. When the EAC was ended, Tanzania closed its side of the border, although Kenya never did. This was done mainly to halt tourist vehicles from Kenya coming to visit the famous national parks in Tanzania. Kenyan tourist companies benefitted immensely from this even though the parks were in Tanzania. Tanzania wanted tourists to fly directly into Tanzania, to its international airport in Arusha, and use Tanzanian tourist companies. Were it not for the border closure most of the Maryknoll priests would have made regular trips to Kenya to purchase supplies, even though it would have meant paying customs on the Tanzanian side of the border. Jones made monthly trips to Kenya to get materials for his Center, which included agricultural projects, and always brought back numerous amounts of food supplies, including frozen meats in freezer chests. Other Maryknollers would order and obtain goods from Jones, again through internal transfers of payment rather than paying cash.

Despite this assistance, the psychological toll on missionaries became unendurable for some. Several Maryknollers opted to transfer from Tanzania to Kenya where the material and physical aspects of mission were not so severe. (This is only partly true; Kenya’s northern frontier where Maryknoll had several missions in the 1980s and 1990s was extremely remote and physically demanding. However, generally basic provisions could be purchased locally even at these remote outposts. Most Maryknollers in Kenya, though, worked in either Nairobi or Mombasa.) A few Maryknollers who remained in Tanzania suffered burn-out in the 1980s. Causes may have been multiple but the physical hardships were one factor.

The border was re-opened in 1983, but goods remained scarce up to at least 1986, especially petrol and diesel. One Maryknoller from Kenya crossed the border in 1984 and observed facetiously that there were more goods for sale in the tiny village of Isibania on the Kenya side of the border than in all of Mara Region.

Although the Tanzanian people had many private sarcastic complaints during the time of severe hardship there were almost no public protests about what was happening. There was a minor coup attempt in 1983 that came to nothing. The Catholic Church also did not offer any analyses of underlying causes of the economic collapse, instead urging leaders to avoid corruption and the people to work hard. In 1982 the Religious Superiors of Tanzania set up a Justice and Peace Commission at the national level and the Director conducted workshops using the Paulo Friere method of social analysis and conscientization. These workshops were squelched by the Bishops, however, and the Commission's purpose was restructured with new leadership. The Bishops were more concerned about maintaining peace in the country – and, according to Sivalon, their own place of status.

Many people have commented that Swahili, the national language, helped create and fortify national unity. Furthermore, Nyerere remained greatly respected by the people, due to his moral qualities and incorruptible nature. Through subsistence farming and the extended family structure the people survived – albeit aided by some crucial famine relief programs by religious groups and the World Food Fund. So, the country remained mainly peaceful, although guns had become more prevalent after the War against Idi Amin, insecurity had grown in both urban and rural areas, and stealing, particularly cattle rustling, was on the increase.

In 1984 Tanzania had no alternative but to devalue its currency – initially from seven shillings to twelve shillings to the dollar, a 70% devaluation. Subsequent devaluations occurred at regular intervals. General elections were scheduled for 1985 and Julius Nyerere opted not to run for re-election as President, an internationally acclaimed and precedent-setting decision for the African continent, copied by some African Presidents and disdained by others. In October, 1985, Ali Hassan Mwinyi of CCM was elected President, for what would become the first of two five-year terms. He accepted the structural reforms of the International Monetary Fund, which enabled an injection of bilateral and multilateral aid (loans and grants) into the country as well as private funding (loans and direct investments). Private ownership of productive enterprises was again permitted, peasants were allowed to concentrate on their own personal farms and to grow crops in response to market forces, and private retailers were again allowed to start selling a variety of consumer goods. After 1985 Ujamaa Villages were no longer mandatory, although many people remained living in them, as they had built houses in the villages and services were more readily available there than at distant homesteads. Catholic dioceses were requested to again open private secondary schools, a supreme irony as it was a Catholic President who nationalized the Catholic schools and now it was a Muslim President requesting Catholics to open them.

Tanzania's economy began to again grow slowly, although it would not be until the 2000s that real growth started taking place. When we get to the final Chapter we will note, though, that Tanzania's accelerated economic growth in the last twenty-five years has been accompanied by an ever-widening gap between the rich and poor and a growth in absolute poverty to over fifty percent of the population. Nyerere's goals of preventing

social inequality and addressing basic human needs would remain unfulfilled as the new millennium began.

We will now go to Chapters Eight and Nine, where we will look in closer detail at Musoma and Shinyanga Dioceses respectively.